

# EASTERN WORLD

THE ASIA MONTHLY



Volume XIII Number 8

LONDON

August 1959



## The Old Order Passes in Tibet

## The Kerala Affair

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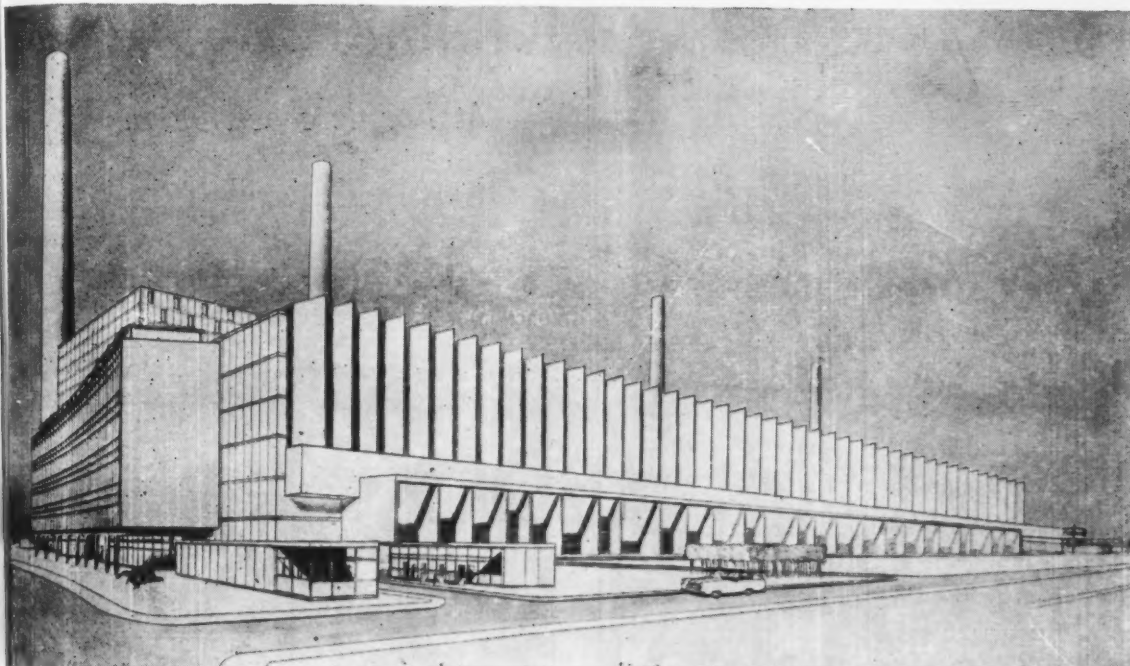
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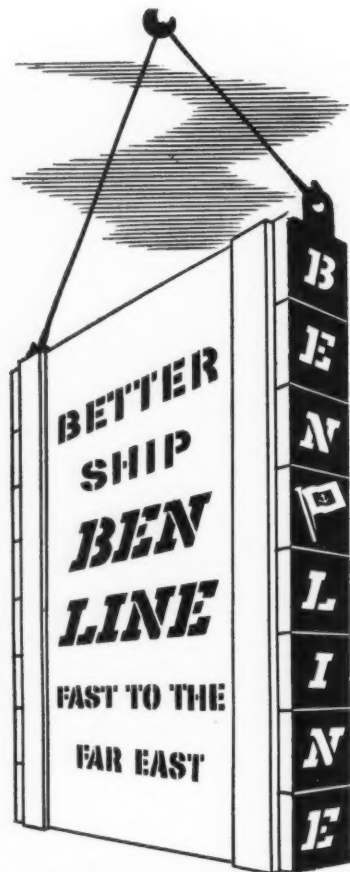
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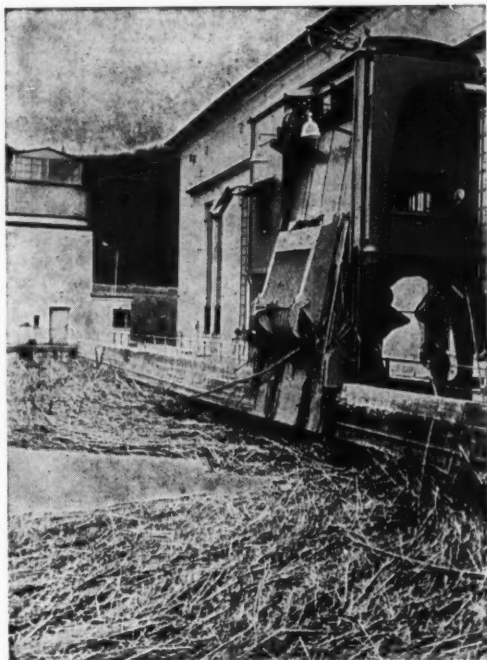
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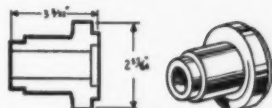
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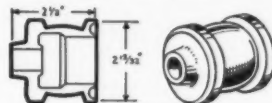
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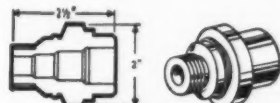
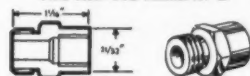
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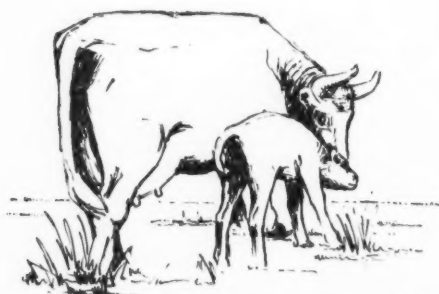
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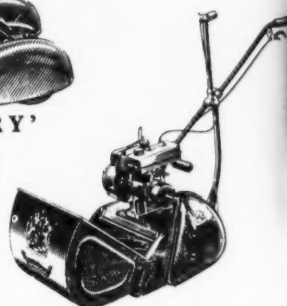
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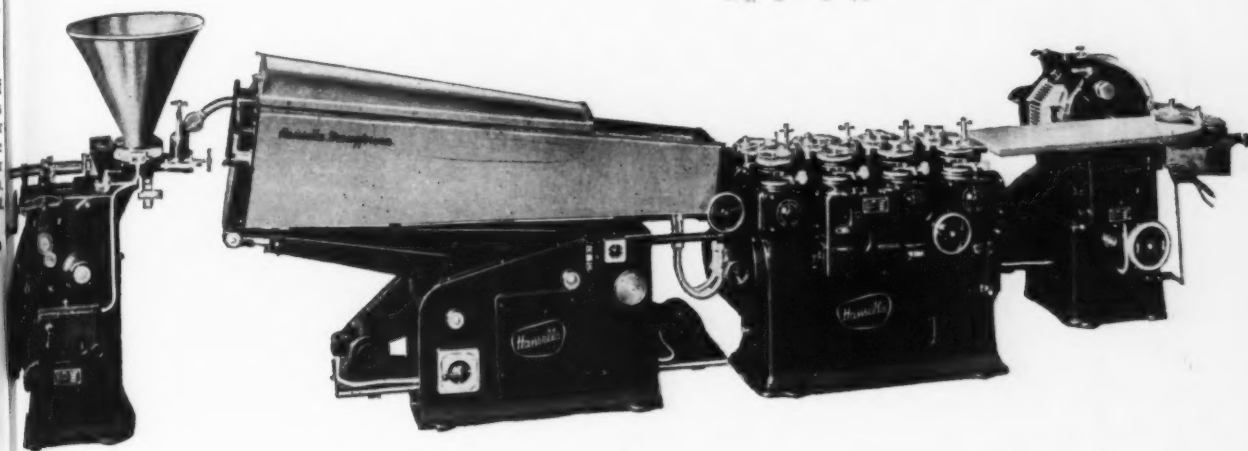
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*The Editor does not hold himself responsible for opinions expressed in signed articles.*

Front Cover Picture: Helicopter being used in connection with transportation of oil drilling equipment in Papua, New Guinea. (See article on p.22)

(Photo: Petroleum Information Bureau)

# EASTERN WORLD

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## Fundamentals at the Top

ALL except those who hold extremist views one way or the other will welcome the exchange of visits between Mr Krushchev and President Eisenhower. The most cautious on the western side are inclined to believe that the results of such a contact are likely to be more positive than negative. The postures of America and Russia are no more alike now than they have ever been, but both are coming increasingly to recognise that however far each is pressed and provoked by the policies of the other no solution is possible through a recourse to arms. This, for the first time in the history of mankind, changes the relationship between antagonists. They either have to cease to be antagonists, or they have to come to an agreement not to manifest their antagonism. The first is clearly out of the question with two such diametrically opposed ideologies, but it is the second that gives significance to the exchange visits. Despite the threats that have been heard in recent years about massive retaliation, neither America nor Russia have made it clear beyond doubt that in the last resort they are prepared to destroy themselves and the world at large in the attempt to gain ground for the political and economic system each believes is the right one. Both have indicated they would be ready to undertake such a step in defence of their systems, or, as the Americans would have, their "way of life," but the meeting point of Eisenhower and Krushchev must surely be where they both agree, and not putting life on this planet in jeopardy for the sake of spreading their respective systems would seem to be that point.

Non-aggression pacts and such like are not the answer in a case like this, for neither side is likely to commit an open act of aggression when the stakes are so high. The sparks of a conflict are contained in the attitude of both sides to certain given situations which seem ripe for the physical manifestations of their ideological views. In almost every situation of tension that has occurred in the world over the past dozen or fifteen years both Communism and capitalism have tried to use it to their own advantage, and each has condemned the other for doing exactly what it was itself trying to do. The Middle East, the Far East, Europe — the pattern, at basis has been the same everywhere. It is all very well for the Americans

to accuse the Russians, as Mr. Nixon did in his Moscow television speech, of working for the victory of Communism as if the capitalist side of the world did not do the same thing for itself. Nothing could have been more inflammatory in recent years than the crusade against Communism which the United States has been carrying out. "Don't try to communise us," was Mr. Nixon's plea to the Russians, but these sentiments are not necessarily one-sided, for the attitude to Communism in the United States is in the nature of a *jehad*, a holy war.

When the two top men meet in a few weeks, they have got to both face honestly that although a great many of us do not ever wish to live under the system of Communism, there are just as many who think that capitalism is a very unattractive alternative, especially in the way it has been manipulated by America in the less well developed areas of the world. There are many millions of people in the Asian and African continents who would be justified in saying "a plague on both your houses." Recent history has shown that the fears on both the capitalist and Communist sides are legitimate, and when President Eisenhower and Mr. Krushchev meet they will get nowhere unless they are each ready to concede that the other's anxiety is valid. They might also take into account that the masses of people not committed to Communism or capitalism have also a proper and valid fear. This must be the starting point of their range of discussions. For months now British statesmen and political leaders have recognised this fact, and a great deal of credit must go to Mr. Macmillan, the British Prime Minister, for the part he has played in bringing the two main antagonists together.

The exchange visits, and a possible summit conference later, are crucial, and if no agreement or understanding is reached there is no higher level to which difference can be referred. If the two statesmen use the opportunity of their meeting only to condemn each other for being what they are or for believing the things they do, then they might just as well not meet at all. Accepting that Communism and capitalism do exist, the next step is surely to examine how they can live side by side without putting themselves and the rest of humanity in danger of extinction.

## Comment

### The Kerala Affair

**M**ANY leading members of the Indian Congress party are beginning to wish they had never heard of Kerala at all. The whole case of the central Government in the past two months for dismissing the Communist administration in Kerala rested on the assumption that it had forfeited the people's confidence. Less than a week after the dismissal, reports began to appear that practically everyone is now overcome with doubts as to whether this was an accurate reading of events. The possibility of a clear Communist win in the next election, to be held before next February, appears by no means ruled out. Mr. Nehru himself concedes the point, and has said that in that case the central Government would certainly allow them to take office again. This abrupt revision of opinion about the Communist hold on the ordinary voters has led some Congressmen to clutch at the forlorn hope that the Communists will now behave so outrageously as themselves to destroy their chances at the poll.

On the very first opportunity for discussing the matter in the Lok Sabha, the Government came under fire. Mr. Feroze Gandhi—husband of Nehru's daughter Indira Gandhi, President of the ruling Congress party—accused the Government and Congress of being responsible for much of the disorder in Kerala, by at first conniving at shady alliances between the local reactionary forces, and then falling into line with their demands for undemocratic measures. Mr. Nehru has yet to make a complete report on Kerala. Before the Communists were ousted from office, he declared his conviction that the people were highly dissatisfied with the Communists, and afterwards expressed his surprise at the utter failure of the Communists to rule. But if Nehru can now, so soon after, believe that they are nonetheless in a position to win the coming election, there are clearly a good many things that still require to be explained.

This does not, of course, mean that the Communists are to be absolved from all blame for their dismissal from office by the President of India. They were turned out because of their inability to maintain law and order, which was technically true at the time the President made his order. Undoubtedly the Communist Government must be held responsible for allowing things to come to such a pass. It seems they were not always as tactful as they claimed to be in their treatment of those not entirely in agreement with their doctrines.

Under the Constitution, the States have very little room to institute really radical changes, so it was not open to the Kerala Government to embark on major projects to reduce unemployment. But it failed even to create any impression that it was making the best possible effort. Though by dint of their mass contacts and their example of selflessness, the Ministers in Nambudiripad's

cabinet increased their personal popularity with the public—in itself a cause of disquiet to the opposition—they did not succeed in convincing everyone of the Party's good intentions. The dissatisfied, the unemployed, and a certain number of idle and hooligan elements, thus fell an easy prey to anti-government rabble-rousers.

There were naturally also other factors in the making of the anti-Communist alliance in Kerala. This odd alignment, however, of Congress supporters, Nairs (the local high-caste Hindus), Catholics, and Muslims—who up to the last two months, had never been able to work together, and are expected to fall apart again soon—is in itself a condemnation of the Kerala Communists. Only their numerous sins of omission as well as commission made it possible for such ill-assorted bedfellows to combine again them.

Events outside Kerala and beyond the control of the Indian Communist Party, however, also played a hand in ousting the Nambudiripad Government. The troubles in Tibet, with their consequent misunderstanding and coolness between India and China, are believed to have had a direct bearing on the fortunes of the Kerala Communists. China's unforgiving mood towards India for her sympathy with the Tibetan rebels and the asylum given the Dalai Lama has been an encouragement to the anti-Communism and anti-Socialism in Indian conservative opinion.

Within the Congress itself, the Right-wing under the former President Dhebar clamours for a fight to the finish with the Communists. Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the President, who normally stands to the left of her father, has proved incapable of presenting a firm opposition to the Rightists. In the central cabinet the majority of the Ministers are said to have been strongly in favour of ejecting the Communist Government in Kerala long before Nehru would agree to this. Many believe that but for Tibet, the Kerala disorders would not have been possible.

Yet it is worth noting that all through the six weeks of the well-organised and well-financed anti-Communist agitation in Kerala, Indian newspapers of all shades of opinion were opposed to any central intervention. Some changed their opinion only at the last moment, when the inaction of Delhi and the complicity of the Congress Party allowed the situation to get nearly out of hand. This genuine independence of the Indian press in this affair is one ray of hope in an otherwise sombre situation.

World interest was aroused by the advent of an elected Communist Government in Kerala when it first came to power nearly two-and-a-half years ago. It represented not only the workings of Indian democracy but also the all-important question of whether a peaceful road to Communism was a practical possibility. The dismissal of the Communist Government leaves the West uncertain whether to jeer at Nehru's democracy or to rejoice in the discomfiture of the Communists, while the Eastern bloc, in deference to India's peace policy, has withheld all comment. Responsible British newspapers of all shades of opinion were initially critical of the unparliamentary overthrow of a lawfully elected Government. British Socialists friendly to Nehru on the whole regret his action in Kerala, but some are unwilling to hear a word against him.

The world's judgment, meanwhile, remains suspended. This is not the end of the story.

## Dangers in Laos

IF reports are to be believed, the people and even the Government of Laos are less concerned with the fighting in the northern provinces of that country than outside powers are. In Vientiane, the capital, and elsewhere life goes on normally, and although rumours and speculation are rife, no one yet seems predisposed to panic. This at least is something. There is nothing that could make the situation worse than reports (false or true) of refugees fleeing in one direction or the other.

There have been no really convincing explanations for the sudden flare up of fighting, but dissatisfaction among the adherents of Pathet Lao has been growing for some time. Although a settlement, in accordance with the 1954 Geneva conference, was reached in Laos last year between the government and the Pathet Lao leaders, it was not operative for long enough to satisfy followers of the Pathet Lao in the remote North that they would be able to play a full part in the political life of the country. Less than six months after the Pathet Lao leader, Prince Souphannavong, had reached a settlement with the Prime Minister, Prince Souvanna Phouma (his half-brother), another Prime Minister took office, and gradually clamped down on the activities of the Pathet Lao political wing, the Neo Lao Haksat. The Neo Lao Haksat only contested a supplementary election, and in this they took 13 of 21 seats.

This was about a year ago, and it was a fact that the pro-Communist Haksat was increasing its support. A group of young politicians and army men, looking in alarm at the success of the Neo Lao Haksat, formed a group called the Committee for the Defence of National Interests, which led a general movement away from the neutral policy which Laos had hitherto adopted, and instead drew closer to the West, particularly the United States. Haksat leaders were put under house arrest, and the party ceased, to all intents and purposes, to function. When a battalion of the Pathet Lao armed forces refused to be integrated into the Laotian Army two months ago, and fled to the jungle, it presaged trouble. The international supervisory commission, appointed by the 1954 Geneva conference, had ceased to operate in Laos when last year's settlement was reached, so they were not able to investigate the circumstances of the dissident battalion.

While this somewhat calm political activity has been going on the Americans have been increasing their influence in Laos, with the result that Communists and pro-Communists seem to have come to conclusion that they are endangered by the powerful hold the United States now has on Laos. The military advisers in Laos, according to the Geneva conference instructions, are supposed to be French; but there are now more Americans than French acting as military advisers. Old military equipment is being replaced with American arms, and the entire Laotian defence budget is paid for by the United States. Arguments are beginning to fly back and forth between Communist North Viet Nam, and anti-Com-

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munists in Laos.

A situation such as this can easily become inflammatory. Reports of correspondents on the spot seem as suspicious of American motives as they are of Communist. But no good can come from apportioning out blame. As the Laotian Government will not at any price agree to the reconvening of the supervisory commission, then the next best solution is, as Britain has hinted she is prepared to support, for a United Nations mission to investigate what really is going on in Laos; to get to the bottom of grievances, and prevent the spreading of the conflict beyond the small area where it is now localised. With Siam talking of using the forces of SEATO, and the North Vietnamese warning against the dangers of foreign intervention, the matter is more urgent than the general atmosphere in southern Laos would seem to indicate.

## Double-Edged Sword

SINCE the promulgation of the Presidential decree of 5 July dissolving the Constituent Assembly and re-enacting the 1945 Constitution, there appears to have been some relaxation of the tension in Indonesia which has enabled President Sukarno to announce a gradual revocation of the ban on political activities previously imposed by the army. President Sukarno's magnetic personality is now in sole command of the leadership of his country and his power has been further strengthened by recent decrees prohibiting political party membership to all high government officials and introducing heavy penalties "for persons or groups participating in criminal offences endangering the implementation of the Cabinet's programme".

While the President thus emerges as the absolute stronghold of all authority and the undisputed fountainhead of "guided democracy" it is nevertheless true that, having eliminated party influence or at least active opposition, he relies now not only on his own dynamic popularity, but also on the strength of the army. And it seems that, despite the disciplined patriotism of the latter and the unquestioned integrity of the President, a situation has been created which in many ways follows the path trailed by some other Asian countries—Pakistan, Thailand and Burma—though, of course, in a special Indonesian way. For though sovereignty is vested in the President, it would be difficult even for him to ignore, or even over-rule the army. General Nasution, whose reputation as a "strong man" must not be overlooked, is Minister of Defence in the Inner Cabinet, and almost half of the seats in the general Cabinet (consisting of the 9-man Inner and the 7-man Outer Cabinets) are occupied by army officers. There is no doubt of the genuine patriotic intentions of the army, and of its desire to consolidate Indonesia's political and economic life after the upheavals of the past few years. Yet, it occupies a very special position in the country which might induce—or even compel it to take more drastic steps at a future date, particularly if its present *entente* with President Sukarno is disturbed, or if foreign, interested parties begin to intervene.

The special position of the army is evident. The country military districts are governed to a great extent

not by civilian administrators, but by the commanders of the respective military units who frequently perform purely economic functions. The state of emergency, of course, has enormously increased the administrative responsibilities—and powers of the army. The Army Chief of Staff is at the same time the Chief Military Administrator, while the meetings of commanders of military districts are devoted not so much to discussing military matters as to economic and even foreign affairs. Like any other political, religious or social group, the army demands its own representation in parliament.

This extraordinary position has on occasions given rise in some sections to movements towards political leadership or constitutional changes which have been responsible for severe unrests in the past. Such a situation, when a *coup* is a permanent possibility, will exist until political stability relegates the army to the exclusive realm of defence. But the difficult situation seems to be aggravated by certain outside influences. Thus there are reports that the Dutch as well as the Americans are very active in this respect. While the Dutch, owing to their unpopularity, do not seem to make much headway, the same cannot be said of the Americans. US leaders have openly stated that their deliveries of armaments are meant to strengthen anti-Communist tendencies in Indonesia, it is known that the procedure of handing over weapons to the army, together with the necessary instructions of how to use them, is an ideal medium for establishing contacts with the military over the head of the Government, and that certain offers of "backing" the army in case it should consider it necessary to "lead the nation" have been made—on the Thai and Pakistan pattern.

If events should proceed further along these lines, the possibility of a military *coup* cannot be ruled out. But the question arises as to whether military dictatorship could survive in Indonesia. Experienced political leaders in Indonesia and outside it, believe that a military junta could stay in power in that country for no later than a year at the most, owing to the extremely difficult economic situation and because of the strong popular backing of political parties. Should the army choose to carry out a *coup d'état*, it is possible that it would, in the first stage of the struggle for political power, co-operate with President Sukarno as it is unthinkable that any move without him could hope for popular acquiescence. But later President Sukarno would have to give way to a military dictator, just because of the President's popularity. However, at this stage the political parties, which would undoubtedly be outlawed, would not submit to this decision as they did in Pakistan for example. Considering the intensity of Indonesian political feeling, the geographical complexity of the island empire and the enormity of the economic problem, it seems unlikely that a military junta would be able to control the entire territory of the country, at least not without outside assistance.

Nevertheless, there may always appear a group of ambitious officers who would dare to take the risky path. The activity of foreigners in the Indonesian army under these circumstances may not be accidental. It is quite possible that it may never come to an open military *coup* in Indonesia. But what if, to create such a situation is in the interest of some outside power? Unfortunately, there is no evidence yet proving that this is not so.



## THE OLD ORDER PASSES IN TIBET

by O. Edmund Clubb

THE March insurrection in Lhasa was different in character from the popular revolts that had flared up sporadically in different parts of Tibet between 1950 and 1959: it was a revolt of the Dalai Lama's own theocratic Government against persistent Chinese invasion of the "autonomy" promised for Tibet in the Sino-Tibetan agreement of May 1951.

The Lhasa Government on March 12, reaching out for what it had lost eight years before, denounced the 1951 agreement and declared for Tibetan independence. The Dalai Lama fled from Lhasa on March 17, the armed Tibetan uprising that began on March 19 was put down after two days of bloody fighting; and then, on March 31, the Dalai took refuge in India. The Dalai's flight to India was apparently based upon the assumption that he was indispensable for Chinese rule in Tibet. That assumption was grossly mistaken. The Tibetan leader's withdrawal from the scene of action has brought Tibetan resistance the quicker to its end and fostered the implementation of Peking's programme in Tibet—to the disadvantage of India.

The central issue has been Tibet's autonomy. Speaking in exile on June 20, the Dalai Lama charged that the 1951 agreement had been signed under military duress, asserted that the Tibetan people would recognise him and his Government as the Government of Tibet "wherever I am," and announced that he and his Government would welcome a peaceful solution of the matter, "provided that such a solution guarantees preservation of the rights and powers which Tibet has exercised without any interference prior to 1950." He suggested that any settlement would have to be negotiated, not between Tibet and China, but through the mediation of "a foreign country." And he said further that, "in case Tibet is not satisfied with the terms of a peaceful settlement offered by China," he would consider placing the Tibetan issue before the United Nations.

The UN in 1950, thanks to the combined efforts of India, Britain, the United States and (not least) the Formosa National Government, effectively ruled itself incompetent to deal with the matter. When there is now, nine years later, not even a call for help coming from the political authority resident in Lhasa, but only petitions from the Dalai Lama in exile, will some Great Power, or a group of interested Governments, come forward to call Peking to an accounting?

### INDIAN GOVERNMENT'S POSITION

To ask the question is to answer it. Peking on March 28 abolished the Dalai's Government in Lhasa and gave his place as head of the Preparatory Committee for Tibetan Autonomy to the pro-Chinese Panchen Lama. *This was even before the Dalai Lama had left Tibet.* The Indian Government, acutely conscious that it had acknowledged Chinese suzerainty over Tibet by the Sino-Indian agreement of April 1954, on June 30 formally denied the Dalai Lama's right to consider himself and his accompanying ministers a Government-in-exile on Indian soil. An adequate legal sanction for intervention, by the United Nations

or "interested Powers," to restore the *status quo ante* 1950 in Tibet is not to be found. The Dalai Lama's proposition that this shall be done pertains to the world of fantasy.

Tibet's autonomous status is thus gone irretrievably. The Panchen Lama faithfully echoes Peking's political sentiments, and is to function as Chinese Communism's instrument in Tibet. Chinese military and political power is firmly established on "The Roof of the World." Chou-En-lai, the Chinese Prime Minister, speaking in Peking on April 14 (at a banquet given for the Panchen Lama), said that, under the Panchen's leadership, Tibet would now proceed rapidly toward autonomy (that is, autonomy *a la chinoise*). And he went on, triumphantly: ".....the obstinate Tibetan reactionaries...in destroying themselves... have created conditions extremely favourable for the democratisation of Tibet."

### THE SHAPE OF THINGS TO COME

So the prospect is clear. Under the "leadership" of the Panchen Lama, only the name of autonomy will remain. The delay in reforms announced in early 1957 will now be revoked. The shape of things to come is found in the announcement in Lhasa in July 3 of a major programme of reform for Tibet encompassing change in the system of land tenure (with holdings of the lama-series included) and the abolition of serfdom. Tibet's theocratic rule will be supplanted by a secular Communist administration, the Tibetan nobility even as the lamas will lose their power and privileged position, mineral resources will be prospected and exploited, the agricultural system will be changed and elements of a modern economy developed.

One further development can be foreseen: Chinese nationals will swarm into Tibet. The process has in fact already begun. Chinese immigration was a major cause of the revolt that began in 1956 in eastern Tibet (latterday Sikang and Tsinghai). The Dalai Lama, in his June 20 press conference, put the total Chinese migration into north-eastern Tibet (that is by inference Tsinghai) at four million and said that another four million were to move into central Tibet in the near future. There is every reason to assume, on the basis of past Chinese performance with respect to Manchuria, Inner Mongolia, and (more recently) Sinkiang, that this process will continue until the available *lebensraum* has been filled to overflowing with Chinese persons. We are witnessing, in Tibet, the final passing of lamaistic theocracy and the introduction of a fundamentally new order of things.

That transformation is incidentally opening up a major issue. Tibet functioned well as a buffer State between British and Russian spheres of influence at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th Centuries, when China was weak and unable to play a major role in that world sector. When Prime Minister Nehru, speaking on April 14 said that "I cannot imagine any feasible practical solution to the Tibetan issue without autonomy for the Tibetan people," he was reflecting—if unconsciously—the concept of a day that had gone. Now Tibet is no longer a

buffer area, but a *place d'armes* for Chinese power. This changes the strategic situation for India and has a critical bearing on its future.

There are grave weaknesses in the position of India vis-a-vis China-cum-Tibet. India's political system is in a state of evolution, and flux. Its economic weakness is notorious. No relief is in sight from the pressures exerted by population growth upon food supply; indeed, that particular stress can be expected to become aggravated with the passage of time. In the implementation of India's second Five-Year Plan (1956-60), the agricultural sector of the economy continues to manifest a debility affecting the whole programme, and Mr. Nehru concedes that only about 80 per cent of the Plan's overall goal will be achieved.

### A CRUCIAL FULCRUM OF POWER

In circumstances where the political stability of India patently depends so heavily upon economic progress, and the advance of Chinese Communist dominion to the edge of the Himalayan massif has sent a strong shock through the unstable border belt lying just beyond, there rises the natural question: what of India's political future?

This question, however, brings up another: do Moscow and Peking see eye-to-eye in the matter of the advance on India? India, with its resources and people, is the crucial fulcrum of power for South Asia and the Indian Ocean. Its future development will inevitably influence in important degree the destinies of neighbouring countries—on both east and west. Soviet interest in India is open and avowed, and is manifested concretely in the provision of substantial Soviet credits and aid to the New Delhi Government. Contemporary Soviet policy, in sum, aims at the building up of ever closer ties with India.

It is not to be taken for granted that the Peking Communists have been persuaded to cede gracefully to the Soviet wishes in this regard—at any rate, not in their own minds and thinking. The Chinese are congenitally inclined, when strong, toward imperialistic expansionism, and history would offer good reason to suspect that the Chinese Communist leaders may well feel that China has an interest in India's future which merits priority over any interest of the USSR an *occidental* Communist Power.

There is no reason to believe, on the other hand, that the Soviets are invariably reconciled, in their own hearts, to acceptance of Chinese policy objectives. In particular, Soviet doctrine regarding the treatment to be accorded "national minorities" differs, to date, from both Chinese theory and practice. The dominant Russians are prepared to assist the many minorities in the Soviet Union to maintain their existence as separate cultural groups; the current trend is toward giving more, rather than less, political authority to the country's constituent national minorities. The Russian Communists are moreover heavily committed ideologically to the thesis that the Soviet Union, within the growing community of "socialist" States, is only *primus inter pares*. It could not deny the right of the Indian nation, for one, to an independent existence.

The Chinese contrariwise are not conditioned emotionally to admit more than nominally that another culture might equal their own. The Chinese traditionally consider themselves superior to other peoples, and Peking's doctrine regarding China's national minorities, particularly as developed since 1957, openly contemplates their even-

tual amalgamation with the Chinese race. Chinese racial ambitions have moreover, in the past, time and again transcended the country's formal boundaries; today, those ambitions are surging up powerfully again.

So both Soviet and Chinese forces converge on India. The course of future developments in the area of convergence will be influenced in large measure, it would appear, by the outcome of a Sino-Soviet rivalry—no less real for being hidden—for predominance in that field.

The Soviet Union possesses an unchallengeable margin of superiority, vis-a-vis China, in terms of military and political power. But in the present case it is not military and political strength alone that will tip the balance; economic power is even more important. And, on the basis of existing knowledge, the Soviet Union has a built-in advantage over its ally as regards natural resources. It is at least 30 years ahead of China in economic planning and industrial construction, and the Soviet nation enjoys a notably higher per capita income than the Chinese people. The Soviet Union, drawing upon surplus economic strength created by a generation's effort, will be able in the years ahead to advance with programmes of economic aid to India which China cannot afford.

In existing circumstances, therefore, China may glower down on New Delhi from its new position of vantage on the southern rim of Tibet. It can moreover logically be expected in due course to exert pressure southwards from that position with the aim of advancing its effective political frontiers into border areas that may once have owed a vassal's fealty to the Dragon Throne in Peking. Yet, Moscow is in a position to make its weight felt against China in the theatre of contest, and, given the evident Soviet objectives in Asia, it will probably upon occasion provide, on India's behalf, a counterweight against Chinese thrusts.

### CRITICAL BATTLES LOOMING

This is of course not the whole picture. The Afro-Asian bloc is laboriously constructing a certain solidarity of its own; the Colombo Plan functions to the increasing benefit of India and neighbouring countries; and India in particular is receiving substantial western aid toward the accomplishment of its current Five-Year Plan, with the United States a major contributor. Besides, the Atlantic community possesses a great reservoir of unused economic potential.

The contest is thus by no means decided. The influence of the West in India—and all of South Asia—is still on the decline relative to the increase of Sino-Soviet power in that area. Three of the "Big Four" Ministers gravely concentrate on "the Berlin crisis" and the less-than-earthshaking issue of whether Britain, France and the United States shall continue to enjoy the right of unimpeded access to West Berlin. But it is imperative to note that critical battles are looming up in theatres of war far removed from Geneva or Paris; and that the Sino-Soviet strategy, while generally coordinated with respect to disputed battlegrounds, in some sectors comprises two distinct parts—the coordinated, and the competitive. Such a sector is India. If London, Paris and Washington could abate some of their concern for Berlin, perhaps they might be able to discover means of deploying, with substantial profit to the West, some of their heavy political and economic forces into the South Asian theatre.

## ASIAN SURVEY

### PAKISTAN'S CAPITAL PROBLEM

*From Our Karachi Correspondent*

IT is difficult to believe that any Government since the assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan in 1951 could have contemplated with equanimity, or indeed contemplated at all, two such grave and momentous measures as the shifting of the federal capital and the mass sacking of Government employees found guilty of various misdemeanours. These two achievements foreshadowed in the earliest months of Martial Law are now accomplished facts.

As Karachi sweltered in a blistering heat wave in June there came two dramatic announcements within a fortnight of one another. The first announced the proposed transfer of the federal capital from Karachi to a comparatively unknown site on the Potowar Plateau between Rawalpindi and Murree; and the second, the compulsory retirement, among others, of 84 top-flight officials of the Central Services. Though not wholly anticipated by rumour and intelligent speculation both announcements created something like a major sensation here.

The decision to shift the Federal Capital and incidentally to build a subsidiary one in East Pakistan, follows the recommendations of a high-powered commission appointed some months back to examine the suitability of Karachi and to suggest an alternative site if the present capital was found to be unsatisfactory. The Commission, it was announced, took various factors into consideration such as climate, topography, development-potential, defence, social and cultural needs and came to the conclusion that "Karachi was not suitable for the location of the federal capital" and that the most suitable site for a new Capital was near Rawalpindi in the Soan River Valley.

In the past, talk about shifting the capital, and the suggestion has been mooted at least on two occasions, has met with loud clamour from entrenched interests notably in East Pakistan where politicians playing upon regional jealousies have managed to block and to freeze such suggestions whenever they have been made. Karachi which is sufficiently insulated from the sprawling western wing was to all intents and purposes a neutral zone, and if a lot could not be said in its favour, its retention provoked, so it seemed, a surly but passive acceptance on all sides. Although press comment in both wings has now been uniformly favourable to the proposed change, it would perhaps be an exaggeration to say that this change commands the widest approval in either wing. Far too many interests, both mundane and regional, are involved in the issue to give their radical proposal the stamp of universal approval, but the over-riding need to get away from the great mercantile community with the unhealthy pressure it exerts on the Administration is doubtless the paramount factor militat-

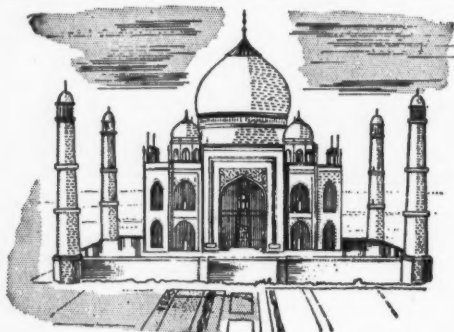
ing against the retention of Karachi as the federal capital.

At the moment of writing no date-line has been given for the proposed transfer although there is a great deal of current speculation that the policy-making part of the Government, that is the President's Secretariat, the Ministers and Secretaries of the various Ministries may be shifted earlier or, rather sometime in the near future, after the matter has been carefully deliberated. As for the rest of the Government, it is not clear how long the corresponding time-lag will be. It is obvious that the building of a new capital for a population of something like 40,000 from scratch requires time and resources, the latter manifestly beyond the reach of this momentarily impoverished country. The cost of building a new capital with all the amenities of a modern city has conservatively been calculated at something like Rs.1,000 million. In the present state of the economy this is a prohibitive figure and one which belies the possibility of an early transfer of the capital. Although it is claimed that part of this sum will be raised by the sale of Governmental buildings and property in Karachi, no hint on how the balance will be raised has so far been forthcoming.

A fortnight later came the second announcement giving details of the compulsory retirement of 84 officials of the Central Government whose service records had been screened and who had been found guilty by a high-powered Committee (of four Ministers) of offences ranging from corruption, misconduct and down the scale to inefficiency. It is difficult to recall a similar mass purge in recent times and there is no doubt that many Asian countries whose progress is crippled by a corrupt administration will watch the Pakistani example with particular interest. Although this is a drastic and momentous precedent there is little doubt that the relentless cleansing of the Administration is a prime necessity not only in Pakistan where conditions are bad enough but in other Asian countries where public confidence in their own administration is sorely lacking and a major cause of the failure of democratic governments in countries recently grown to nationhood.

Among the 84 compulsorily retired or otherwise punished 12 are former ICS officials who had held at one time or the other such high and important posts as Secretaries of the Ministries of the Interior, Commerce, Industries and Defence; others held key posts involving the exercise of the widest powers. In all 1,662 employees comprising all classes of the Central Services have been retired, demoted or punished in other ways. In East and West Pakistan respectively an equally large number of employees of the two provincial Governments have been similarly punished but no precise figure are available up to the moment of writing as the process is still continuing. In East Pakistan alone action against 665 officials of the





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police has been taken, and in Karachi, as an example of the kind of nepotism that prevailed under the **ancient régime**, a Superintendent of Police was finally reverted to his former position—that of stenographer!

Beyond the laconic announcement of dismissals and demotions lies the squalid story of the debacle of the last eleven years. A drastic pruning of the Administration such as has taken place is a regrettable necessity in a country like Pakistan where public standards had declined precipitately and very nearly beyond repair in the last few years of the old régime. It needs to be emphasised here that while the various Screening Committees punished guilty officials entirely on the basis of the evidence available against them, none were dismissed without being given a chance to explain their conduct or to make a final appeal to the President himself.

### India

## Lesson of Kerala

From Our Delhi Correspondent

The agitation in Kerala has created a tremendous ferment in the thinking life of this country. The Congress and the Communists seem to have been drawn into an interminable controversy. For every Communist argument in support of their action there is a matching argument from the Congress side.

Kerala, scenically the most beautiful coastal State, sprawling along the south-western tip of the Peninsula, has been in turmoil for the past few months. Being the only one of 14 States in the country which was ruled by the Communist Party, that came to power in the last General Elections with the narrow majority of only two, it has always excited something of an abnormal interest in its doings; the party configuration in the 127-member Assembly being: Communist—60, Independent supporters of Communist—5, Congress—43, Praja Socialist Party—8, Muslim League—1, Independent—1 and Anglo-Indian (nominated)—1. Rather densely populated, the State has the most literate electorate amongst the otherwise poorly educated population of this country. Its total population in 1954 was 1/28th of the entire country but it occupies an area which is only 1/84th of India.

To understand the present situation correctly the problem of Kerala can be said to have developed two facets. One is the purely theoretical aspect of the question, whether a democratically elected State Government can be overthrown by extra-constitutional means such as picketing, hartals, etc. On this aspect, Communists seem to have won a large measure of support from the liberal-minded intelligentsia of the country outside their State, amongst which are included eminent people like Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, former Finance Minister of the Union Government and Mr. N. V. Gadgil, Governor of the Punjab. Even the Congress hierarchy, by and large was most sympathetic to their Constitutional right to remain in office, provided the Communists could have appeased

the raging storm of the populace against their administration.

The other facet is the practical one which is perhaps not fully apparent to distant observers, however dispassionately they may try to weigh the arguments on both sides. This is the continuing fear, almost hysterical in its import, which the Communists by their behaviour in office have generated in large masses of the people. The fear might have been generated by an over-zealous reformism, by stray political murders, or by coercive tactics to enrich party coffers, or by the looming challenge to all types of vested interests such as landlords, factory owners, the Catholic Church, school managers, etc. To a hardened Communist this might be an irrational or reactionary fear but in a constitutional democracy, it gains a vital significance, purely by the mass upsurge it is capable of provoking. The Communist Chief Minister of the State Mr. E. M. S. Namboodiripad denied the existence of any real people's upsurge in the State. But Mr. Nehru had the real feel of it only when he visited the State. He said a few days after: "When I went to Kerala, the overwhelming impression that I got was of people—and people meaning not individuals only but large masses of people—in a state of very high excitement, bordering on hysteria. All kinds of people I have seldom seen in such an atmosphere in spite of having seen odd kinds of movement. The excitement was hysterical. It is very difficult to sit down and argue quietly or peacefully."

In this highly surcharged atmosphere, Nehru's advice to the State Government to hold re-election was the only way to ascertain the will of the people. But the Communists were reluctant to accept it because they had no wish to go into wilderness voluntarily. They would seem rather to prefer dismissal and Central intervention for that would give them the hallow of martyrdom.

One lesson which the Communists might perforce learn from the recent discontent against their rule, is that reforms, however, well-meant, need a long preparatory period, before they can be introduced democratically. The second is that in politics it is not merely good intentions that matter, but who wants to put those good intentions into practice and how.

The Congress Party too, of course, has a significant lesson to learn. For this crisis, apart from other vital causes, has assumed somewhat of an anomalous character from the contradictions lying within the ideological complex which is the Congress today. The Congress for too long has been a party that has talked left but seemed to act right on many issues ultimately. Now that it is faced with the Communist challenge, its inner weaknesses are coming to the surface and it has perforce to join hands with some of the threatened vested interests.

Mere intellectual arguments having now reached a dead end in the present crisis, the real question in Kerala, therefore, is not the constitutional propriety of the present action, but the question whether a democratic structure can truly survive under Communist auspices. Experience of the past few years of its working in Kerala has shown that Communists can so function within the formal framework of a democratic structure that they can choke up its real spirit completely. The stakes in Kerala were not an unconstitutional agitation in the form

of picketing, hartals and satyagraha versus a democratically elected government but the struggle for democracy versus Communist machinations to subvert it. The Congress support or limited participation in the agitation was really meant to keep within bounds the hysterical and frenzied outbursts of a people were perhaps making a last desperate bid to regain their lost freedom. Looked at in this perspective all the nice constitutional arguments meant to decry the collective role of individual agitators, can be understood more fully.

## Australia

### Note of Warning

*From Charles Meeking*

(EASTERN WORLD Canberra Correspondent)

As the Australian Prime Minister, Mr. R. G. Menzies, flew homewards after visiting the United States and Britain, he went first to The Hague and then to Zurich, for talks with the Dutch Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, before making "whistle stops" at Karachi, New Delhi and Singapore. During this trip it was indicated that while Australia would refuse to endorse Dutch protests against the sale of arms to Indonesia for internal security ("because the Communist block would supply arms if the western bloc didn't"), yet Australia still supported Dutch retention of West Irian.

This prompted the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Dr. Subandrio, into a quiet but highly significant comment. Relations between Indonesia and Australia, he said, were "not very cordial," although he did not expect them to worsen.

Other Indonesian comment was more pointed. A more realistic policy towards Australia was advocated, and one newspaper, with some reason, accused the Australian Government of being "double faced" in its dealings with its neighbour, the Indonesian Republic of 88 million persons.

All this makes more urgent than ever the long-delayed visit to Indonesia by Mr. Menzies, currently scheduled for October—but it does not suggest that he won't hear some straight talking in Djakarta. He may be more amenable to the facts of Asian life when he gets there than he is in the seclusion of Canberra or at the carefully-warmed welcomes he gets in London or The Hague. He may even realise that the whole of Asia, including his acquaintances in Pakistan, India, Thailand and the Philippines, supports Indonesia's claim to West Irian, and that the friendship of those Asian nations is worth more to Australia than Dutch gunboats and conscripts in New Guinea.

The isolation of Australia's position in this dispute is emphasised by a study of the regular and almost despairing assertions by Mr. Menzies himself, SEATO headquarters, and other sources that Communist subversion in South-East Asia is spreading effectively. There is criticism of Mr. Menzies for his brief visits to the Asian capitals on his way home, applause for the decision to raise the Aus-



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tralian legation in Viet Nam to embassy status, and increasing concern at aspects of the administration policies for Australian New Guinea.

New Guinea, now subject to income tax, is marching slowly towards a still undefined version of self-rule, with the possibility in the background of native members being elected to the Legislative Council. Australians who have complacently assumed that Australia would continue to control its end of New Guinea for a long and indefinite period have been jolted to learn recently that the English translation of the Motuan song with which Port Moresby children greet visitors to their school is:

Politically, the worst shock has come from the recent uncovering by a mission from the UN Trusteeship Council of a festering sore which many observers have felt for a long time would eventually cause serious difficulties—the multiplicity of Christian missions in the territory and their

blatant competition, in many instances, for “converts.” In one district there are ten different sects at work. People who know of the religious wars in Europe of a few centuries ago will find little difficulty in envisaging what could happen soon in New Guinea.

### **Ceylon**

## **Tottering Regime**

*From Joe A. Perera*

(EASTERN WORLD Colombo Correspondent)

The edifice of democracy is crumbling in S.E. Asia. Three pillars have already crashed—Burma, Pakistan and now Indonesia. Ceylon may well be the fourth, unless early elections are held to solve the present crisis that has overtaken the country. When the former Marxist Food Minister, Mr. Philip Gunawardene walked out of the Bandaranaike Government he took away with him not only ten other colleagues but also carried away with him the Government's stability and moral authority to continue in office.

Premier Solomon Bandaranaike's new Socialist Government is a rump held together by political bribery. Its a rag-tag-and-bob-tail of a Government of fifty members in a House of 101 of whom 31 hold office in the Government as Ministers and Parliamentary Secre-

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taries and six more consist of Appointed Members. The fact that of the 50, 37 of them are tied down to the Government one way or the other has not only become a public scandal but has also exposed the political bankruptcy of Mr. Bandaranaike's new Government. It has a slender majority of two in Parliament and it is ironical to note that even of the six Appointed MPs two of them are Englishmen, representing the Colonial British plantation and commercial interests. At the recent Throne Speech debate they came under heavy fire by Opposition speakers for propping up a tottering régime that has lost the confidence of the elected representatives of the people.

Although the Government survived its first major battle—the Throne Speech Debate and won by 50 votes to 42, it was actually a moral defeat for the Government. The opposition would have mustered more votes if not for absences and absenteeism among six of their MPs, among whom was the ex-Prime Minister, Sir John Kotelawala, who although in Ceylon, did not attend Parliament and participate in the voting. The voting also was a pointer to the fact that all the major political parties in the country despite their diverse political ideologies, were commonly united to overthrow the present régime. The speeches of the Marxists belonging to the Trotskyite, Communist and the Revolutionary Marxist Camps of Mr. Philip Gunawardene contained more than one hint that it was possible for a common united front among them to fight the Government and the Conservatives (UNP) at the next elections. Despite their differences on minor matters of policy, there is a very good possibility of these Parties forming a United Front. On economic policies all of them are agreed that Socialism could be ushered in only with the nationalisation of banks, insurance and the foreign owned plantations, so as to find the capital for carrying out Socialist economic reforms.

Meanwhile the Prime Minister has indicated that he will not go out immediately and even if his Government is defeated, he would go on to form a Caretaker Government until he "feels the time is ripe for the holding of elections." But, the other political parties notably the Trotskyites, Conservatives and even the Communists and the Federalists are opposed to this move, because they feel that such a step can only open the door for a strong man to walk in and take over the Government. Since Mr. Bandaranaike himself talked of an attempted coup d'état just after last year's race riots, political opinion in the country has not completely ruled out such a thing happening in the country now, when conditions are so unstable.

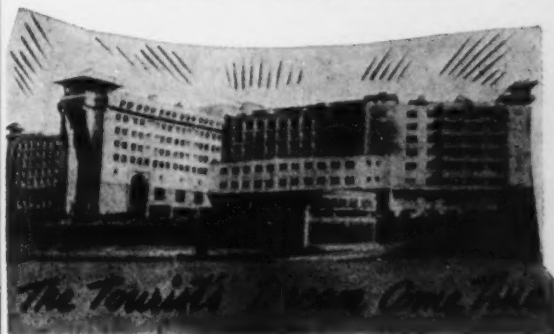
If the political situation in the country is bad, the economic situation is worse. The country is going to rack and ruin. A major strike in the Port which has necessitated the calling of the armed forces to unload the ships, has adversely affected trade and sent the cost of living spiralling up. Essential foodstuffs are in short supply and at black market rates, which are well above the reach of the average consumer.

One of the causes that is hastening the Government's downfall is the widespread prevalence of bribery and corruption in the Government. During the recent debate on the Throne Speech several allegations were made notably by these who left the Government ranks recently,

that several Ministers were guilty of bribery. The Government's reluctance to appoint a Bribery Commission to enquire into these charges have given credence to these stories. Even the Prime Minister himself has been charged of maintaining his rump of a Government by political bribery, in offering the plums of office to his MPs. Public dissension and dissatisfaction against the Government is slowly rising in and flooding the country among all sections of the people. If Mr. Bandaranaike does not take the cue and bow out in time, Ceylon may well see the recent happenings in Kerala enacted here, to drive Mr. Bandaranaike and his Government out of power. If such a mass struggle begins, it can only end with bloodshed, violence and perhaps the emergence of a dictator to restore order and peace in the country.

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# Economics and Trade

## OIL INTERESTS IN THE FAR EAST

By W. J. Harris (*Petroleum Information Bureau*)

In view of the innumerable contributions made by the Far East to the cultures and living standards of early civilisations, it is not surprising to find that her oil interests can be traced back over many hundreds of years. Burmese oil, for example, is mentioned in Chinese writings of the 13th century, although that oil came from wells that were hand-dug instead of being drilled. The oilfields, lying beside the Irrawaddy River, were worked by the Twinzayos, hereditary heads of a group of twenty-four families, and the oil was distributed throughout the entire country. In ancient China, the story of oil began even earlier, for drilling there in search of oil is believed to have been carried out more than two thousand years ago! Although the only form of power was that provided by the muscles of men or animals, the average depth of those wells was over 1,500 ft.

Apart from the bygone oil industries of China and Burma, there was a widespread usage of seepage oil throughout the Far East and this oil was burned as fuel by countless generations of Indonesians and Japanese. Because of this long-standing association with petroleum, it was inevitable that the Far East should be one of the first major areas to be developed by the modern international oil industry—which was born as the result of the completion of the first well in America to be successfully drilled for oil production, an event which took place at Titusville, Pennsylvania, on August 27, 1859—and before the end of the 19th century, commercial production had been established in several Far Eastern territories.

The present list of oil-producing countries in the region includes Indonesia, British Borneo, New Guinea, India, Pakistan, China and Japan, but with the exception of the first two mentioned, individual outputs are small and must be calculated in terms of hundreds of thousands of tons a year rather than in terms of millions. Indonesia is by far and away the biggest producer, with an annual output now of about some 16 million tons. This may be considered a remarkable achievement in view of the fact that her oil installations were almost completely destroyed during the second world war; indeed, in 1946, when peacetime operations were resumed, her yield was only some 300,000 tons. The most important—and the oldest—source of oil in Indonesia is the island of Sumatra, where commercial production began in 1893. All the fields there lie east of the high mountain range, nearly 1,000 miles in length, which forms the island's backbone, and output is obtained mostly from shallow depths.

British Borneo is another area that suffered mass destruction of oil installations during the war but where astonishing subsequent restoration programmes have been completed. Her two commercial oilfields are sited at

Miri, Sarawak, and at Seria, Brunei. Although output at Miri has declined to something under 100,000 tons a year, the yield from Seria has been brought to a rate now in excess of 5 million tons a year. In fact, this field, discovered in 1929, must be regarded as among the more important so far found anywhere within the Commonwealth, and it extends some 10 miles along the coast and 1½ miles inland. A further search has been made during the post-war years to trace any extension of the field that might run beneath the offshore bed of the sea, and as a result, underwater oil production from this extension is already in progress.

New Guinea, where three fields are in operation and which began exporting oil in 1948, furnishes an outstanding example of the difficulties sometimes encountered in oilfield development. The torrential rain, the dense jungle and the vast area of swamps have hindered exploration tasks to the point where operations, that ordinarily might have taken only a few weeks to complete, have occupied instead literally years. Nevertheless, the work has gone steadily forward, despite these obvious topographical difficulties, and the effort has been rewarded with a modicum of success.

Burma, India and Pakistan are among the countries whose outputs amount only to hundreds of thousands of tons annually, but exploration in these areas is continuing unabated. Moreover, Pakistan was the beneficiary through the discovery, a few years ago, of prolific natural (petroleum) gas deposits at Sui, 350 miles from the capital, Karachi. These deposits have already been put to good use as a source of power by the different industries based on Karachi—a pipeline from the field to the capital was completed in 1955—and a progressive extension of the pipeline distribution system is bringing Sui gas within reach of a number of other important consuming centres.

Apart from oil fields, the Far East is also a major refining centre—as indeed was the case prior to the outbreak of the war. Hostilities brought destruction to much of the existing capacity together with the devastation of the oldfields themselves, but post-war construction programmes have been so vigorously undertaken that the war damage has been more than made good and total capacity taken to a level in excess of 50 million tons per annum. About a quarter of this capacity is located in Indonesia, at Pladiu and Sungei Gerong (in South Sumatra), Balikpapan (Kalimantan), Wonokromo and Tjepu (Java). In India, two refineries at Trombay Island, off Bombay, are in operation with a combined capacity of more than 4 million tons p.a. and a third new Indian refinery now in service, at Vizigapatam, has an annual capacity of about 1 million tons. Australia's total capacity now approxi-



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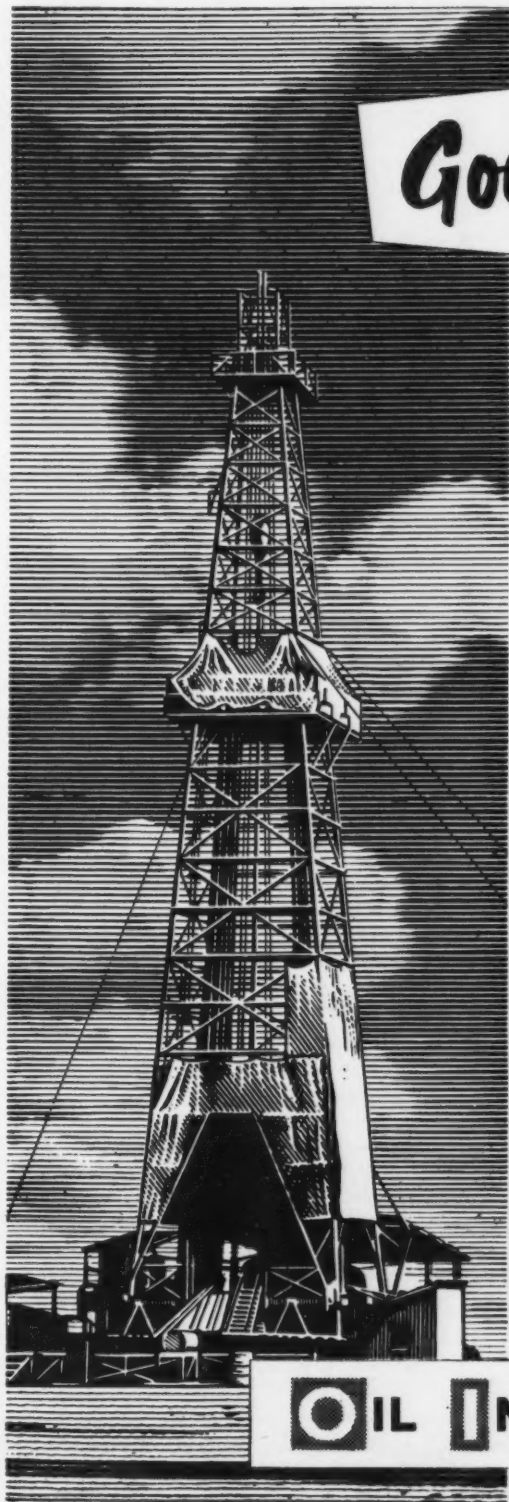


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mates to about 10 million tons p.a.—the four major plants there standing at Altona, Geelong, Kurnell and Kwinana—while a new refinery built at Lutong, Sarawak, can process some 2½ million tons of oil a year. Still other plants are located in Japan (whose total capacity is about 20 million tons p.a.), Formosa, Pakistan, Burma and the Philippines.

Closely associated with the expansion of the Far East refining facilities are plans for the establishment there of a petroleum chemical industry. Plants are planned, or in course of actual construction, in Australia, Japan and Pakistan and when these schemes are all fully implemented, they will make an appreciable contribution to the area's industrial economy as a source of supply of materials in constant manufacturing demand. Another specialist interest which has lately been brought to a substantial scale by Australia is the manufacture of all types of refining installations and ancillary equipment, while Japan, of course, has captured the attention of the ship-building nations through the amazing progress she has made in the rehabilitation of her yards—especially occupied with construction of oil-tankers.

So far as the various oil companies participating in Far Eastern oil production, refining and distribution are concerned, they are too numerous to be mentioned individually. However, it may be said that British interests are very fairly represented, sometimes acting as a separate entity and sometimes in conjunction with Dutch and other associates. In the same way, orders emanating from these companies are relating to equipment, stores, supplies and other requirements for use in the Far East are a most

fruitful source of revenue to all manner of British manufacturing industries. These requisites range from office drawing pins or blotting paper to refinery distillation units and heavy drilling equipment and total worth of such orders amounts to millions of pounds a year.

To conclude, the oil production of the area, though overshadowed by that of North America, the Caribbean, the Middle East and the USSR, is of fundamental importance to the world's economy as a whole. Apart from possessing substantial petroleum reserves, Far Eastern oilfields form the main source of supply for the region in which they are located, and as the industrial ramification of that region expand so will local oil requirements. An appreciable increase in the area's oil production potentialities is therefore highly desirable, and it is to be hoped that the widespread search now in progress there will meet with the good fortune it deserves.

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## Norways Exports to the East

**N**ORWAY'S export to the Far East up to about 1950 mainly consisted of traditional Norwegian items like paper, canned fish and codliver oil. Only small amounts of chemicals, hardware, minerals and other manufactured products were exported to that area. In recent years there has been a tendency towards increasing the share of industrial products in Norwegian exports to the Far East.

Paper and pulp, however, still are by far the largest single category of goods, and about 70 per cent of the total Norwegian exports to the Far East consist of merchandise within this category. The proportion of canned fish and codliver oil has been reduced mainly due to import restrictions in the various countries in the area. Among the new items that have been introduced, metals like aluminium and ferro alloys have accounted for considerable amounts, but also machinery and equipment needed in connection with industrial development in Far Eastern countries have been exported.

India and China have always been the two leading importers of Norwegian merchandise in the Far East, but Indonesia, Pakistan, Hong Kong and Singapore have also been very large customers. India has, in some years, purchased as much as 66 million kroner worth of merchandise from Norway. India is, furthermore, the country in which the trend towards larger interest in manufactured goods is most clearly expressed in statistical figures. While paper and related products as late as 1949 took up 75 per cent of the Norwegian export to India, only about 25 per cent of the export to this country consisted of paper in 1958. A couple of suppliers of heavy machinery for the iron and steel industry have been quite successful on the Indian market, and their deliveries have represented a considerable amount of the Norwegian export sales to India. Several engineering firms have also been active in exploring the Indian market, and many smaller orders and valuable contacts for future work have been created. In spite of this development the total exports to India have not increased very much during the fifties, but this is mainly due to the severe Indian import restrictions during the recent years.

Trade with China was very slow in the beginning of the fifties, but during the last couple of years orders have again been forthcoming. It also seems like the traditional Norwegian exports of paper, codliver oil and canned fish is a thing of the past also as far as China goes. Peking has mainly shown interest in manufactured goods and semi-manufactured raw materials. The largest single orders placed last years, were for transformers and other heavy electric goods as well as special iron and steel goods.

Indonesia has for many years been a good customer of Norwegian paper and paper products and to a smaller extent of canned fish and codliver oil. There is still considerable demand in the country for these commodities,

but due to the financial difficulties in Indonesia, not sufficient foreign currency has been available for normal import, and consequently the Norwegian export has suffered. The markets of Hong Kong and Singapore are probably those which have taken the largest variety of goods. This is due to the fact that import restrictions in this area have not caused difficulty for the introduction of even consumer goods like margarine, cheese, canned fish, beer, paint, radios, tape recorders and secondhand ships.

The exports to Japan have been very small and mainly consisted of rayon pulp. Only in certain years, when Japan has been short of raw materials, metals, chemicals and other items have been shipped from Norway. With the severe import restrictions for consumer goods that exist in Japan, and probably will exist for years to come, it seems difficult to find Norwegian export commodities that can be advanced on the Japanese market.

Total export to the Far East last year (financial year 1958) amounted to 140 mill. kroner, which is only about 2.7% of Norway's total export.



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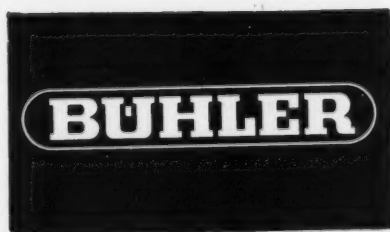
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## NEW FLOUR MILLS FOR JAPAN

**O**RDERS for three new Flour Mills and one remodelling job have been awarded to Buhler Brothers of Switzerland.

Nitto Flour Milling Co., Tokyo will have two mill units in one building with a total grinding capacity of 280 metric tons of wheat or approximately 4,700 cwt. of flour in 24 hours. One mill unit is for hard wheat, the other for domestic soft wheat, all in a four-storey layout. Each unit has its own cleaning house. The newest equipment such as Planostar Plansifters, three-deck purifiers, hot air conditioner and flour bin discharging machines will be installed.

The Showa Sangyo Flour Milling Co., Tokyo has placed an order for a Milling Plant with a grinding capacity of 120 metric tons of wheat or approximately 2,000 cwt. of flour in 24 hours. It is a four-storey layout with roller mills below. It is a combined mill and the flowsheet is set up to permit alternate

grinding of hard or domestic soft wheat. The roller mills are equipped with automatic engaging and disengaging devices, watercooling of the rolls.

Kumamoto Seifun Kaisha Ltd. is situated on Kyushu Island in the south of Japan. The remodelling of this 80 ton — milling plant (approximately 1,350 cwt. of flour) will see improvement through adoption of the Buhler System. A new hot air conditioner, three-deck purifiers and some new roller mills will be added to this installation. The mill will also be converted to pneumatic conveying of mill stock.

Most of the equipment for these three plants will be shipped during 1959. Since the second world war eight flour mills are being, or will be, built in Japan of European design, seven of them by Buhler Brothers.



*The Fuji Seifun flour mill in Mishima is the first of seven Buhler mills in Japan.*

### SINGAPORE'S LIBERALISATION OF DOLLAR CONTROL

Singapore's policy governing the importation of goods of Dollar area origin has been reviewed and the Government has decided to remove completely existing restrictions on the direct import of dollar goods with effect from 1st August, 1959, and to permit freely the re-export of dollar goods from Singapore.

In view of the improved position of sterling and the recent action to allow free convertibility of non-resident sterling holdings into any currency including US dollars, the Government considers that the circumstances no longer justify the retention of any dollar restrictions.

The decision to allow re-export of dollar goods from Singapore is a recognition by the Government of the importance of the entrepot trade to the livelihood of the people of Singapore.

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## INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL NOTES

### BURMEISTER & WAIN DIESEL ENGINES FOR INDONESIA

The Indonesian Ministry of Shipping recently placed an order for 11 coasters for the trade between the Indonesian islands. The ships of 960 tons are to be built at the Gdynia Shipyard, Poland and are to be equipped with B. & W. Alpha diesel engines. The engines have been purchased by Centromor, Warsaw.

### UK WOOL TOPS FOR THE FAR EAST

The decrease of raw wool prices found its reflection in the value of U.K. wool tops exports, which reached 38.3 million lb. but were valued at only £15 million during the first five month of 1959 as against 36.6 million lb. valued at £17.7 million during the corresponding period of 1958. The development of U.K. wool tops exports to the main markets in South-East Asia and the Far East was as

follows:

	1958 first five months lb.	1959 lb.
India ...	5,120,000	5,358,000
Pakistan ...	380,000	827,000
Hong Kong ...	145,000	229,000
China ...	6,386,000	2,126,000
Japan ...	1,220,000	3,144,000

### UK MACHINE TOOLS FOR JAPAN

During the first five months of 1959 U.K. exports of metalworking machine tools (excluding portable power tools) to Japan amounted to 12,320 cwt. valued at £589,659 showing a great increase against last year's exports which amounted to 2,664 cwt. valued at £207,763 during the corresponding period of 1958.

A number of leading British and Continental machine tool manufacturers will show their latest products at the forthcoming Sixth European Machine Tool Exhibition in Paris (12-21 September 1959), and it is expected that many buyers

from Asia and the Far East will visit the Exhibition.

### NEW DREDGER FOR CALCUTTA

Messrs. Fleming and Ferguson Ltd. Paisley, have received an order to the value of about £650,000 from the Commissioners for the Port of Calcutta for a self propelled steam operated twin screw multi-bucket Dredger.

The vessel is required for dredging in and around the Port of Calcutta, and for working alongside jetties, and wharfs, and is designed to dredge her own floatation. Propelling machinery consists of steam reciprocating engines manufactured by the shipbuilders, taking steam from marine return tube oil fired Scotch boilers. The dredging machinery and equipment also manufactured by the shipbuilders is steam powered. Steam operated engine room and deck auxiliaries will be provided, except standby units which will be diesel driven. The con-

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## TENDERS

The Director-General, India Store Department, Government Building, Bromyard Avenue, Acton, London, W.3, invites tenders on behalf of the Ministry of Railways (Railway Board) from reliable manufacturers for the supply of Signalling Cables, Lever Locks and Circuit Controllers, Point Machines and Detectors, Relays, Repeaters, Route Indicators, Colourlight and Shunt Signals, and other Electrical Signalling Equipment.

Firms wishing to tender may obtain the documents from the above address, quoting ref. S.3272/59 GP17, and enclosing the fee of 15/-, or apply direct to Research Design & Standards Organisation, Baroda House Annexe, New Delhi, at a cost of Rs. 10 (Fees not refundable).

Drawings and Specifications will also be available from the two sources mentioned above on additional payment.

Offers should reach New Delhi not later than:—

31.8.59 for Cables, Rubber Insulated, Paper Insulated, Telephone Type, Relays A.C., Relays D.C.

14.9.59 for Lever Locks & Circuit Controllers, Point Machines and Fittings.

30.9.59 for Control Desk for Route Relay, Interlocking Repeaters and Indicators, Route Indicator Signals, Colour Light & Shunt.

The Office of the India Supply Mission, 2536, Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington 8 D.C. U.S.A., invites tenders for the following.

**Tender Enquiry No. SE.74.**

For the supply of Lignite Carbonisation and Briquetting Plant, capacity 1,000 tons per day approx. for Neyveli Lignite Corporation, Madras.

**Tender Enquiry HQ. SE.75.**

For the supply of Coal Mining Machinery, draglines, shovels, dozers, cranes, drills, tractors etc. for National Coal Development Corporation Ltd.

Specifications etc. relative to the above can be obtained from Co-ordination Branch, India Store Department Bromyard Avenue, Acton, London, W.3., at a cost of £2-2-10 for SE 74 and £1-1-5 for SE. 75. Tenders are to be returned direct India Supply Mission U.S.A. at above address so as to reach them by 29th September and 9th September respectively.

Specimen copies of tender forms can be seen at C.D.N. Branch, India Store Dept., Bromyard Avenue, Acton, London W.3. under references S.3424/59 and S.3425/59.

The office of the Chief Engineer, Madras Port Trust, Madras, India, invites tenders for the following:—

**Tender Enquiry No. C.12162/59/EP/59.**

For the supply of one Number four Passenger lift for Madras Port Trust. Specifications, drawings, etc., relative to the above tender enquiry can only be

obtained direct from the Deputy Chief Accounts Officer, (Engineering) Chief Engineer's Office, Madras Port Trust, Madras 1, India, on payment of 10 shillings and sixpence per tender set and is not refundable.

Tenders are to be returned to the Chief Engineer ("C" Warehouse), Madras Port Trust, Madras, India, so as to reach him by 2nd September, 1959.

Specimen Copy of the above enquiry can be seen at Engineering Branch, India Store Department, Bromyard Avenue, Acton, London, W.3, under the following reference:—

S.3313/59/NSC/ENG.2.

The office of the Chief Engineer, Madras Port Trust, Madras, India, invites tenders for the following:—

**Tender Enquiry No. C.3492/59/EP.**

For the supply of 4 way and 5 way Pillar Boxes to suit 600 amp feeders and 440 v 3 phase 50 cycle 4 wire supply.

Specifications drawings, etc., relative to the above tender enquiry can only be obtained direct from the Deputy Chief Accounts Officer, (Engineering) Chief Engineer's Office, Madras Port Trust, Madras 1, on payment of 10 shillings and sixpence per tender set and is not refundable.

Tenders are to be returned to the Chief Engineer ("C" Warehouse), Madras Port Trust, Madras, India, so as to reach him by 26th August, 1959.

Specimen Copy of the above enquiry can be seen at Engineering Branch, India Store Department, Bromyard Avenue, Acton, London, W.3, under the following reference:—

S.3358/59/NSC/ENG.2.

The Office of India Supply Mission, 2536, Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, 8, D.C., United States of America, invited tenders for the following.

**Tender Enquiry No. B-1005**

For the supply of (a) one 30,000/33,000 KW 11,000V 3 phase 50 cycles back pressure turbo-generator. (b) Two 180,000 lbs/hr. steam generators using pulverised coal operating at 900 psig and 910°F. (c) All auxiliaries and electrical equipment to complete the power station equipment.

Specifications, etc., relative to the above specification, can be obtained from the Coordination Branch, India Store Department, Bromyard Avenue, Acton, W.3, at a cost of £107 2s. 9d. per tender, and is only refundable to those who furnish a complete bid, either for the complete phase or for any of the three parts of the phase. Tenders are to be returned direct to India Supply Mission, 2536, Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington 8 D.C., United States of America, so as to reach them by 15th October, 1959.

Specimen copy of the above enquiry

can be seen at Engineering Branch, India Store Department, Bromyard Avenue, Acton, W.3, under the following reference: S.3394/59/NSC/ENG.2.

The High Commission of India, The Director-General, India Store Department, Government Building, Bromyard Avenue, Acton, London, W.3, announces that the Iron and Steel Controller, Calcutta, is inviting the following tenders:

**Tender No. DLF/13A/23**

For 6336 long tons of R.S. Joists M.S. Channels Angles, Rounds, Flats, Plates, Telegraph Wire, G.I. Wire, H.T. Wire.

Tenders, which are to be submitted on forms obtainable free from this Office, are returnable in Calcutta by 10.30 a.m. on 4th September, 1959.

**Tender No. DLF/13A/24**

For 400 long tons of Copper Bearing Plates and 2000 tons of Telegraph Wire. Tenders, which are to be submitted on forms obtainable free from this office, are returnable in Calcutta by 10.30 a.m. on 4th September, 1959.

**Tender No. DLF/13A/25**

For 4175 long tons of Tinplate. Tenders, which are to be submitted on forms obtainable free from this Office, are returnable in Calcutta by 10.30 a.m. on 15th September, 1959.

**Tender No. DLF/13A/26.**

For 4182 long tons M.S. Sheets, Rounds and Plates. Tenders, which are to be submitted on forms obtainable free from this Office, are returnable in Calcutta by 10.30 a.m. on 29th September, 1959.

### MADRAS PORT TRUST

Tenders in duplicate and sealed covers superscribed 'TENDER FOR HIGH TENSILE STEEL WIRES' are invited for the supply of 15 tons of H.T. steel wires of 5 mm. dia. so as to reach the Chief Engineer, (at 'C' Warehouse), Madras Port Trust, Madras-1, not later than 2.30 p.m. on 14.9.1959.

Tender documents can be had on application to the Deputy Chief Accounts Officer (Engineering), Chief Engineer's Office, Madras Port Trust, Madras-1, on payment of Rs. 5/- (7s. 6d.) per set which will not be refunded.

ACTING CHIEF ENGINEER,

Madras Port Trust.

Madras-1.

### HICKSON'S

**TIMBER IMPREGNATING  
CO. (G.B.) LTD.**

Castleford Yorkshire offer a complete timber treatment service to the mining industry:

- (1) Vacuum/pressure impregnation plant
- (2) "Tanalith" C preservative against fungal and insect attack
- (3) "Pyrolith" flame retardant preservative
- (4) Technical know-how

sulting engineers are Messrs. Rendel, Palmer and Tritton, of London.

#### **BOAC FREIGHTER SERVICE TO HONG KONG**

The first of the freighter services to Hong Kong which operated for BOAC by "Skyways" left London in July. The aircraft, a Constellation 749, will operate a once weekly frequency leaving London on Wednesdays reaching Hong Kong on Fridays (via Zurich, Beirut, Karachi, Rangoon and Bangkok), and will leave Hong Kong again on Sundays returning to London the following day.

#### **INVESTMENT IN THAILAND**

The International Finance Corporation (IFC) have announced a commitment to invest U.S. \$300,000 in the Concrete Products and Aggregate Co., Ltd. (CPAC) for a programme to expand and diversify its operations. CPAC is a Thai corporation affiliated with the Siam Cement Company Ltd.

CPAC started operations in 1952 by selling sand, concrete aggregates and electric power. In 1956 CPAC introduced the manufacture of prestressed concrete products in Thailand. CPAC's expansion and diversification programme will increase the annual capacity of prestressed concrete products from about 7,000 to 15,000 tons a year.

#### **US LOAN TO TAIWAN ALUMINIUM DEVELOPMENT**

The United States Development Loan Fund today signed an agreement to lend \$1,350,000 to the Taiwan Aluminium Corporation, State-owned enterprise, to help modernise and expand its plant at Kaohsiung, Taiwan.

#### **UK MINING MACHINERY FOR ASIA**

As the population of the world increases, there will be an inevitable rising demand for raw materials, and the economy of industrial or developing countries will depend largely on a steadily-increasing, uninterrupted supply of industrial minerals. Mining is the most basic of industries and previous market recessions must be regarded as only temporary — caused, to a large extent, by short-term production planning — and the mines of the world must now be developed on a long-term economic production basis.

In Britain, the coal industry is fighting to retain markets against heavy competition from other fuel sources and this has given new impetus to the development

and manufacture of mining equipment of the most efficient and economic design. For many years Britain has led the world in the design of mining equipment and recent developments have strengthened her position in the face of strong opposition from other major industrial countries.

In developing modern electrical equipment for her own mines, Britain is in a very favourable position to meet the needs of other countries wishing to equip their mines with efficient electrical machinery of all kinds. Electrically-operated winders and skips for the rapid and safe handling of men and minerals; electric drilling machines; flame-proof motors, switchgear; locomotives and lighting equipment for use underground are all contributing towards economic production.

British electrically-controlled mine winders and hoists of many types are in service in many parts of the world; they incorporate fool-proof safety devices and if required, can be made fully-automatic.

The electrically-operated single-drum haulage is one of two such haulages shipped to India from the Chesterfield Works of Sheepbridge Engineering Limited. This shipment completed a contract for the supply of mining equipment to Digwadi and Sijua collieries of the Tata Iron and Steel Company of India.

One of the most notable developments in the design of mining machinery has been the application of hydraulics underground. In 1946 the first British hydraulic prop went into service and since then many hundreds of thousands have been installed in the coalfields of Britain and the Continent, where they are made under licence. More recently, orders have been received from further afield including Japan and of especial interest is the largest hydraulic prop ever made — 10ft. in length — developed for Japanese mines. The Dowty "Roofmaster" self-advancing support system is a development from the hydraulic prop and has aroused considerable interest in all mining countries.

Hydraulic power has also been successfully employed by British engineers for hydraulic rams and transmission systems for use underground. The ram is incorporated in mine-car control systems, underground tippers, cage and skip doors, drill feeds, and for conveyor moving, etc. Hydraulic transmissions are used in underground haulages, cutter-loader machines, conveyor tensioning de-

vices, etc.

Progress has also been made in the design of conveyors for carrying minerals to the shafts. The supremacy of the traditional belt conveyor with rigid guide structure is now being threatened by such conveyors as the Cable Belt conveyor and the rope belt conveyor. In the former case, mineral is still conveyed on a normal conveyor belt but the drive tension is taken by a steel cable running at the side of the belt. In the latter case the rigid side frames of the orthodox conveyor are replaced by wire ropes, providing a resilient support structure.

Ore and coal-preparation developments have been numerous, and British plants are to be found in many countries including India, Australia and Malaya. As a result of supplying equipment to meet so many diverse conditions, British manufacturers have unrivalled experience in all branches of mineral preparation. One such example is the plant at Jamadoba in the Jharia coalfield, which was designed and constructed in Britain for the Tata Iron and Steel Co. Ltd. The seams in the Jamadoba area are high in ash content and very difficult to wash, but no coals of higher grade are found within reasonable distance of the steelworks.

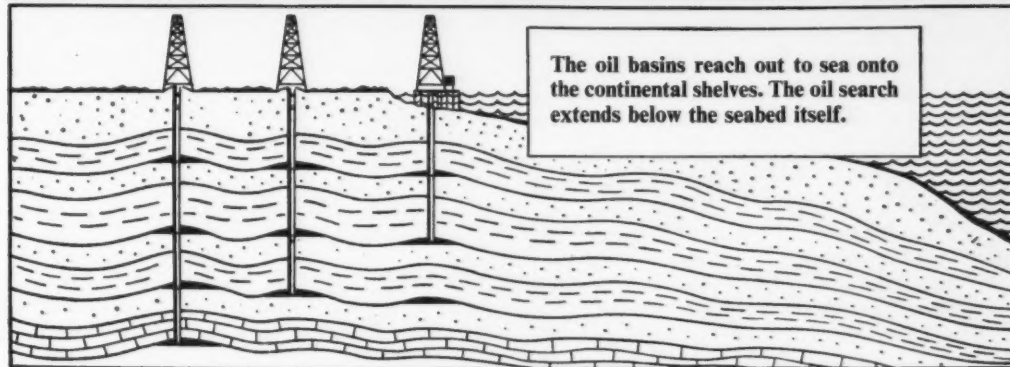
#### **FURTHER U.S. LOANS TO PAKISTAN**

The United States Development Loan Fund has announced basic approval and commitment of funds for a loan of \$1,750,000 to the East Pakistan Inland Water Transportation Authority, a Government agency, to meet the foreign exchange costs of installing a system of modern navigational aids on inland waterways in East Pakistan.

The United States Department Loan Fund also announced basic approval and commitment of funds for a loan of \$4,800,000 to the Government of Pakistan to cover foreign exchange costs of constructing landing facilities for large commercial jet aircraft at Karachi International Airport.

#### **UK MINING MACHINERY FOR INDIA**

During the first five months of 1959 U.K. exports of mining and well drilling machinery to India increased to 31,340 cwt. valued at £712,700 compared with 14,313 cwt. valued at £338,812 during the corresponding period of 1958. U.K. exports of this machinery to Australia amounted to 7,907 cwt. valued at £126,092 during the first five months of 1959.



The explosion of a dynamite charge towed by a boat at sea creates shock waves that feed into seismic recorders floating near the surface. Seismology, gravimetry and other geophysical methods supplement the scanty information collected by geological frogmen from outcrops on the seabed, and by shallow water coring devices.

### Oil at sea

The first oil drilling in shallow water was off the Californian coast in the 1880s. In the 1920s and 1930s came the vast oilfields in the Lake of Maracaibo in Venezuela. Wells off-shore in deeper water were drilled off the Gulf Coast

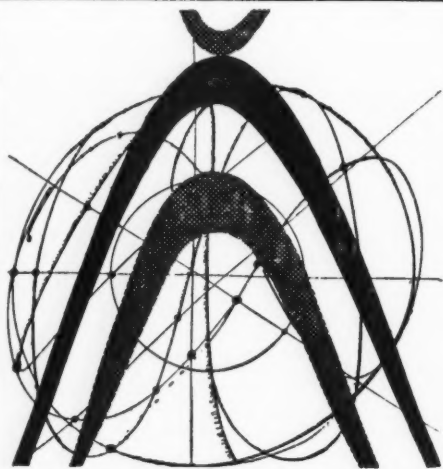
after 1945, and many oil and gas fields have since been found there.

Today some three hundred sea wells are drilled every year. Some are as much as 40 miles out from the land, and in 100 feet of water. Drilling is in progress in the Persian Gulf, off Borneo, the Argentine, California and elsewhere. In other parts of the world, exploration of the continental shelf has only started. There are ever increasing demands for oil. The continental shelves will add to the bigger reserves needed to meet them.

... this is the world of SHELL

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The Place of New Friendships between Customers  
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For 2,000,000 visitors

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MODEL **T8**

*goes to sea*

OUTSTANDING PERFORMANCE OF THE

## KELVIN-DIESEL

installed in "Random Harvest II"

This 70ft. fishing boat built by Messrs. Gerrard Bros. Ltd., Arbroath, developed a speed of 10½ knots during her trials. The builders are convinced that this type of vessel, fitted with a dual purpose winch and using the power now available from the T range of Kelvin marine engines is the complete answer to the demand for an all-purpose fishing boat.

### THE T RANGE

Model T 6 ..... 180 b.h.p.      Model T 8 ..... 240 b.h.p.

The range of KELVIN MARINE DIESELS is now from  
10 B.H.P. to 240 B.H.P.

KELVIN PETROL/PARAFFIN RANGE : 7½ TO 30 B.H.P.

**.The Bergius Company Ltd.,**

DOBBIE'S LOAN, GLASGOW C.4, SCOTLAND

Telegrams : "BERGIUS, GLASGOW"

AN ASSOCIATED BRITISH ENGINEERING COMPANY



# GILLOTT

**high quality  
high speed**

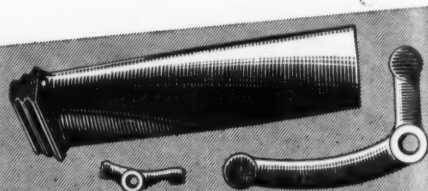
A large number of the World's Leading  
Tool Makers have for many years

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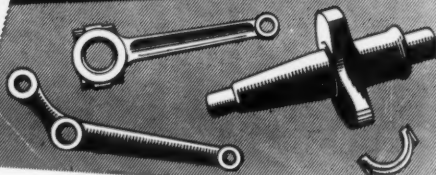
realised the merits of GILLOTT high quality, high speed steels. Almost a century's experience in steel-making combined with the most modern equipment in research and production, have made GILLOTT their obvious choice for quality and real economy. To solve your tool steel problems, you too should CONSULT GILLOTT.

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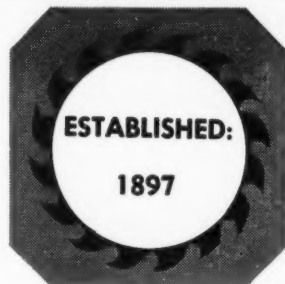
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*a complete  
timber treatment service  
to the mining industry*

- ★ The supply of vacuum/pressure impregnation plant and other equipment for the economical and efficient impregnation of timber.
- ★ The supply of 'Tanalith' C preservative for the preservation of mining timber to protect it from fungal decay and insect attack.
- ★ The supply of 'Pyrolith' flame retardant preservative which reduces the rate of spread of flame and reduces the heat contribution made by timber to a fire. This product also incorporates a preservative which protects the timber from fungal decay and insect attack.
- ★ Technical know-how accumulated over a long period in serving mining and other industries in all parts of the world.

*Timber preserved by vacuum/pressure impregnation with 'Tanalith' preservative is used for mining in the United Kingdom, the U.S.A., South Africa, Rhodesia, Ghana, New Zealand, Fiji, Formosa, Burma and Turkey. 'Pyrolith' is widely used by the National Coal Board in Britain.*

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IMPREGNATION CO. (G.B.) LTD.**  
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The ideal means for any short haul bulk transport. High-power four-cylinder 60 BHP Diesel-engine. Max payload 6 tons, capacity 4 cu. metres. Hydraulic four-wheel brakes.

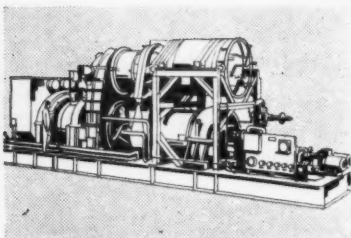
**MOGÜRT**

Hungarian Trading Company for Motor Vehicles  
Budapest 62                      POB 249

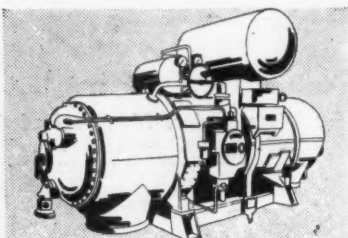
In INDIA, please approach:

WILLCOX/BUCKWELL-INDIA PRIVATE LTD.  
32 NAJAFGARH ROAD, POB 289 NEW DELHI 15

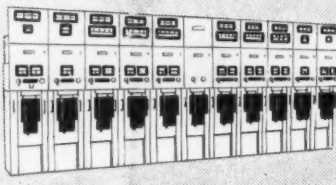
# HAWKER SIDDELEY INDUSTRIES



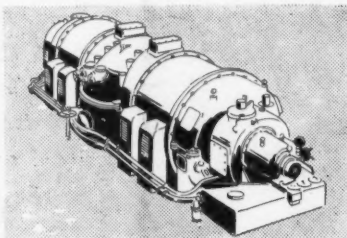
CLARK gas combustion turbines, developing outputs of 8,700 and 9,300 B.H.P. These units will operate on almost all liquid or gaseous fuels, and are suitable for electric generation, pumping, compressors, marine propulsion, etc.



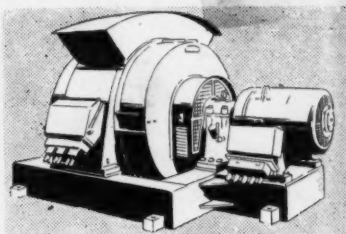
NATIONAL free piston gasifiers each developing 1,000 H.P. These are connected to BRUSH gas expansion turbines having outputs up to 7,500 kW. Suitable for electrical generation, compressors, pumps, marine propulsion, etc.



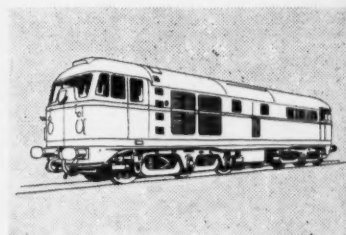
Illustrated an 11 panel, metal-clad, air insulated, oil circuit breaker unit type switchboard, 100 MVA; 11 kV. A wide range of BRUSH L.T. and H.T. switchgear, together with circuit breakers, can be supplied.



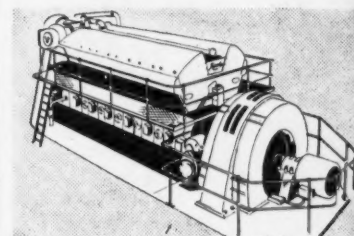
BRUSH/LJUNGSTROM radial flow, steam, turbo alternator sets are mounted directly upon the condenser, thus considerably reducing foundation costs. Units are available from 1,500 kW upwards. BRUSH axial flow industrial steam turbines from 600 kW upwards.



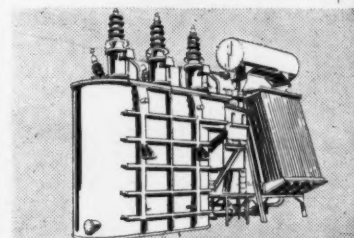
BRUSH synchronous induction motors from 1 H.P. upwards, A.C. alternators (externally regulated), from 1 kW upwards. Self-regulating alternators from 1 to 4,000 kVA.



BRUSH diesel electric shunting and main line locomotives, up to 3,300 H.P. Also diesel hydraulic units, up to 2,200 H.P.



MIRRLEES, NATIONAL, McLAREN and PETTER diesel generating sets, from 1 to 2,900 kW (4,128 B.H.P.). Marine propulsion and auxiliaries up to 4,340 S.H.P. Dual fuel engines 62 to 2,480 B.H.P. Air-cooled diesels 1 to 104 B.H.P.



All types of power and distribution transformers, up to 300 MVA, and voltage 500 kV, complete with high-speed on-load tap change equipment. Also, flameproof 300 kVA mobile transformers for use in mines and combustible atmospheres.

ALUMINIUM WIRE AND CABLES for distribution of electric power at any voltage.

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